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Bihar Government's Independence Day Gift To Journalists :

Press Bill Blacker And More Monstrous Than At First Thought

Editors, Journalists And Opposition Leaders Up In Arms

The bill, rushed through the Bihar legislature in a matter of a few minutes by Dr. Jagannath Mishra's government to gag the press, is much blacker and more monstrous than what it appeared to be at first sight.

If put on the statute book, it will extinguish the flickering flame of press freedom in the country.

It has many obnoxious features. "Scurrilous and "indecent" writings—whatever these expressions might mean —have been made cognizable and non-bailable offences. Petty officials have been empowered to arrest any journalist and detain him for six months without bail. If publications outside Bihar incur the wrath of the chief minister and his minions, the bill prescribes penal actions against distributors, hawkers and even readers.

Such a draconian and disgraceful measure has never been witnessed before since independence, not even during the dark days of the emergency. It exudes the stink once created by the Rowlatt Act which gave the people no "vakil" (lawyer), no "daleel" (argument) and no appeal.

No wonder, all associations of pressmen and editors are raising hue and cry against it. Journalists, accredited to parliament house, have decided to boycott the Question Hour. They have also declined to accept bundles of written answers.

The Editors Guild has decided to challenge the bill in the Supreme Court. It has called upon all, who value "free speech and an open society", to fight it.

The opposition has staged walkout in both the houses. Its members have lambasted the government. Even a ruling party member, Mr. Daga, described the bill as a "black bill" which was "obnoxious", "unconstitutional", "undemocratic" and "a violation of the freedom of the press".

Both Union Information and Broadcasting Minister Vasant Sathe and Union Home State Minister Venkatasubbiah have categorically stated that the Bihar chief minister never consulted the centre before piloting the bill. This only means that Dr. Mishra was telling a lie when he averred that such consultations had taken place.

His pretension that existing laws of the land are inadequate to deal with defaulting journalists

(*Continued on next page*)

False Propaganda Of Fair Treatment To Sikhs

Discriminations Galore Against This Virile Minority

In a massive propaganda campaign, through wall posters plastered in all state towns and villages and well-displayed advertisements in papers, Punjab government is trying to prove that Sikhs are not discriminated against.

A long list of persons has been given, who had held high positions. But these Sikhs rose on the dint of their personal merit and not as a favour from the ruling party.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's comments at a New York gurdwara, during her recent trip to USA, have also been flashed to demonstrate that "Sikhs are the nation's strength and occupy a place of honour in the country".

But all this will not beguile the Sikh masses or Sikh intelligentsia.

An average Sikh feels he has been reduced to the status of a second-class citizen. The government despises him while the majority community treats him as a pariah. If he is surviving, it is because of his own inherent qualities of diligence, stamina and bravery.

All the assurances, which top Congress leaders had given to the Sikhs in 1947, have been thrown into oblivion. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken of an area where the Sikhs could feel the "glow of freedom". Where is it now ?

Was not a Punjabi-speaking state denied in 1957, when the rest of the country was redemarcated on linguistic basis, merely because Sikhs would have been in a small majority in the new state ? And when it was finally conceded in 1966, it was a worm-eaten piece, with so many Punjabi-speaking areas left out of it and its capital, Chandigarh, snatched from it. All this was done to spite the Sikhs because they had forced the hands of the reluctant centre.

Sikhs are concentrated most in Punjab. For this reason only, the state is being denied large scale industries, though it has the largest concentration of small-scale industries, and the latter cannot subsist without the help of the former. It is argued the Punjab is a border state. Barring four or five, all other states also are border ones. Gujarat borders on Pakistan and West Bengal has a long frontier with Bangladesh, and yet both of them are the most industrialised states in the country.

While it is admitted that mother tongue is the best vehicle for educating children. Punjabi is not being given its due status in states where Punjabis are settled in large numbers. It is also being shunned in Punjab administration at the instance of Congress (I) bosses.

Sikh farmers in Terai region of Uttar Pradesh, Guhla area of Haryana and Ganganagar district of Rajasthan are being harassed and evicted. The percentage of Sikhs in the army, which was nearly 50 in 1947, is now being reduced to 2. Such examples are legion. Is this not discrimination ?

Council of Sikh Affairs Assails Union Government for

Wrong and Hasty Decision on Ravi-Beas Waters Issue

For the past about a year the Council of Sikh Affairs, Chandigarh, has been urging upon the Central Government and every well-wisher of the country that the Sikhs and the Punjabis have genuine grievances, which need to be understood and solved expeditiously and that, otherwise, the situation in the State would deteriorate, because the issues would be exploited by the extremists and opportunists on both sides.

Taking up one grievance, as an instance, the Council issued a statement explaining how, since the Independence, the Central Government, in violation of our Constitution, had allotted about 80% of the waters and energy of Punjab Rivers to the non-riparian States of Rajasthan and Haryana, which have no rights whatsoever to them. The "Indian Express" in its issues recently published a letter giving the view of Justice S. M. Sikri, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, saying that Haryana has no rights to the waters of the Punjab rivers :—

> "The fact that the Central Government paid to Pakistan a sum of £. 62 millions in order to obtain unrestricted use of all waters of Eastern Rivers, the Satluj, Ravi and Beas, is irrelevant to the question, namely, what, if any, are the rights of Haryana in the Ravi and Beas. It is irrelevant because the effect of the Indus Treaty 1960 was that the Sovereign right of erstwhile State of Punjab, to control or regulate the use of waters of Ravi and Beas, which was a limited right in 1966 in view of existence of an International Servitude (Page 51 of the Law of State Succession by Carmel) ceased to be limited in 1970. It was the Reorganized State of Punjab, which had either retained the Sovereign right under the Act or acquired it under the Act."

But, unfortunately, wrong and hasty decisions on this most important issue have put a permanent ceiling on the entire economic, industrial and agricultural well-being and growth of Punjab and every Punjabi, whether urban or rural, Hindu or Sikh. Decisions such as these have inevitably led to the demand for greater autonomy for the States, so that the Central Government does not ride rough-shod over the legitimate interests of a State. The Punjab, Kashmir and Assam are Border States, and the majority of the people in them should never be given the grounds to believe that the Central Government is sacrificing their interests either for a minority in the State or for the sake of a neighbouring State.

Unfortunately, the impression has gained ground that the Central Government, instead of solving the problems amicably, has resorted to the policy of wielding big stick and creating divisions between Sikhs and Hindus, Urban Sikhs and Rural Sikhs, Punjabi Sikhs and Non-Punjabi Sikhs, Harijan Sikhs, and Non-Harijan Sikhs, and Nirankaris and Sikhs. It is undesirable that Hindu-Sikh differences have become accentuated as never before, and this, despite the fact that the crucial issue on which the Akalis broke the talks with the Centre and later launched a morcha to secure water and energy of Punjab rivers.

This economic issue, if solved to the satisfaction of Sikhs, would chiefly benefit the Hindus, who control and own the main organs of Industry and Commerce in the State. This is the present sorrowful state of affairs, and both sides are heading for a confrontation. Even a highly responsible team of the Gandhi Peace Foundation has expressed the opinion that the Punjab and the Sikhs have genuine grievances, which need to be solved. But, instead of doing that, the Centre first had the Punjab case withdrawn from the Supreme Court, and now, we hear, is planning to change the Constitution itself, in order to nationalize river waters, and so further whittle down the powers and autonomy of the States. The result of such a step would be unfortunate, and may even be risky.

The Council of Sikh Affairs, therefore, appeals to every section ot the country to pull its weight for just solution of the problems instead of allowing things to drift into a situation like the one present in Assam.

(*Continued from page 1*)

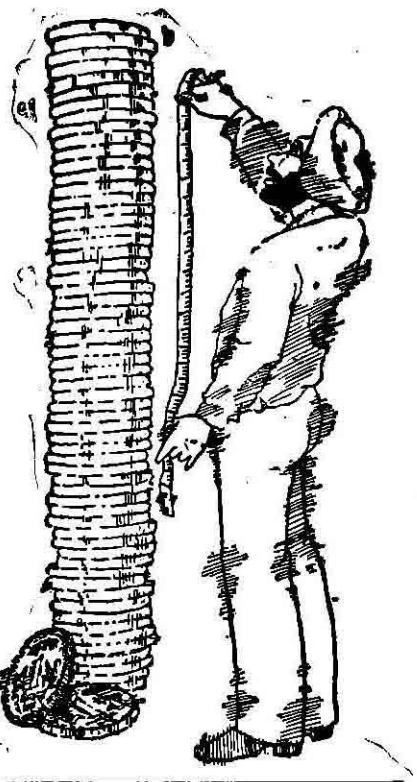
and publications has been shown to be hollow. When a three-man team of the Press Guild of India, during its fact-finding visit to Patna, asked him to cite cases of defamation in courts which had failed because of flaws in the existing laws, he could not cite even a single one. In fact, he could mention only one specific case which had been filed. He cut even a sorrier figure when asked to give instances of "scurrilous" writings which angered him.

The future of the press is at stake. Editors are functioning under pressures from proprietors, intolerant governments and politicians. Still the press has been courageously performing the duties of a real opposition, no matter whether it was the Congress (I) or Janta government.

Apart from defending democracy, it has also exposed scandals like those relating to former Maharashtra Chief Minister Antulay, the oil deal of the Indian Oil Corporation, Maruti Udyog, the blinding of prisoners in Bihar's Bhagalpur jail, and detention of people in jail without trial.

It is distressing that Dr Mishra amended the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code on such a flimsy pretext and without consulting the centre. Admittedly, law and order is a concurrent subject and state legislatures are empowered to amend these laws. But we would be in for chaos if all the 22 states made their amendments in 22 different ways, thereby making a mockery of the uniformity of two laws which affect the lives of all Indians everywhere in the country.

Dr Mishra belongs to a party where no decision is taken, or can be taken, without approval of the central leadership, which means Mrs Indira Gandhi. Formerly, she allowed Mr Antulay to use her name for amassing wealth. Has Dr Mishra also been permitted to get away with his prank with her consent ?



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A THOUGHT FROM GURBANI

Whatever you see in the world is the very form of Him.

—Guru Amar Dass

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PLUS AND MINUS

Thirty five years are not a long period in the life of a nation but they do constitute a reasonable yardstick with which to measure its achievements and failures. It was Indian independence in 1947 which set the ball a-rolling for the complete disappearance of not only the British empire over which "the sun never set", but colonialism of other nations also, especially France and the Netherlands. Now except for a few isolated patches, colonial rule is extinct from the face of this earth. But, unfortunately, most of the emergent nations have fallen prey to the protagonists of "controlled" Or "basic" democracies, if not outright military dictators; somuchso India is the only bastion of parliamentary democracy amidst a debris all around. Despite various shortcomings, which are largely due to our politicians and working of political parties, democracy has come to stay in India, and the voter has chosen to change governments, both at the centre and in the states, through the ballot box instead of bullets. And this is a big achievement. If the politicians could show more regard for ethics, principles and morality, ours would be a purer life.

Phenomenal progress we have made in all fields. We count among the nuclear and space powers and among the 10 top industrialised nations of the world. In 1947, we were exporting only 10 machine items; now their number has swelled to more than 10,000. We send to other countries full-fledged industrial units on a turn-key basis, and almost all countries of the Middle East are building themselves up with Indian labour and technical knowhow. Though we have not been able to achieve the constitutional goal of full literacy within 10 years, yet some advances have been made; we have now 32.9 percent literates as against 12.4 percent before; the rate could be higher but for the rapid increase in population. Children are better fed, clothed and looked after. Girls outnumber boys in most of the colleges, and they have made their mark in all fields, even those held preserves of men before and in other countries.

But corruption at all levels is eating into our vitals. We could make three times more economic and industrial development with the same amount of money if its demon had been laid low for ever. The malaise seeps down from the top. Also we lack national character; all, barring few honourable exceptions, are mad after pelf and power, and the interests of the nation have been thrown into the backyard. Nothing moves unless the palms are greased. Trade union men are more keen on embellishing their leadership, with little care for the nation's good; the eight-month old strike in Bombay textile mills is glaring example of this behaviour. We shall stumble our way forward through pitfalls and difficulties but the journey could be easier and more pleasant if everyone thought of the nation and not of himself.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Jaundiced View

Demonstrations in India and United Kingdom against Appeals Court Judge Lord Denning's verdict are understandable because it has legitimised racial discrimination against a community which is already target of widespread prejudice. In holding that Sikhs are a religious and not a racial group and, therefore, not entitled to any protection, he has stuck to the purely biological definition of race which has been held outdated by historians and anthropologists. He should have, instead, taken a wider definition, which is generally accepted these days, that a race is a product of cultural and geographic bonds as much as of, if not more than, genetic ones.

In fact, this very thing was envisaged in the Race Relations Act. In the white paper put out before the introduction of the bill, the then Labour government had categorically declared that its intention was to protect Sikhs' right to wear the turban. At the committee stage in the House of Commons, an amendment was moved to make discrimination on grounds of religion an offence. Members of parliament widely supported it but it was not finally adopted because it was felt that the new concept of "indirect indiscrimination" (i.e. even though there may be no intent to discriminate), embodied in the legislation was enough to deal with cases like the present one. The case arose out of the refusal of a Birmingham school principal to admit a boy until he cropped his long hair (Keshas) and discarded turban. Strangely, the school boasts to be multi-racial. But Lord Denning has different views and has upheld the principal's action.

Sikhs in UK have been fighting battles for long. In a number of cases, they have won the right to wear the turban while at school, at play or at work; they have also been exempted from wearing crash helmets while riding motorbikes, mopeds or scooters. As these victories were based on the thesis that discrimination was the hub of the struggle, the Sikhs have been, in practice, protected by the Race Relations Act of 1976. Now Lord Denning has demolished all this. He even refused appeal to the House of Lords. This will further embitter race relations in UK and encourage intolerant guys to give free expression to their animus against coloured immigrants.

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Reckless Confrontation

For the current Akali Morcha launched by the Akali Dal in Amritsar, Chief Minister Darbara Singh is entirely responsible. He recklessly began arresting innocent Sikhs and terrorising others just to show that his administration was busy solving the various cases of violence in the state. His ire was directed mostly at followers of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and members of the Akhand Kirtani Jatha. The reaction was instantaneous and the Longowal faction of Akali Dal had to jump into the fray in a big way.

In order to prove himself as a strong man, he also handled the situation in a tactless manner. Apart from fulminations against Akalis, he asked police officers to resort to rough and ready methods. The result was a wave of anger among Sikh masses, which will become the feeding channel of volunteers for the Morcha. The authorities are sadly mistaken if they feel that the daily batch of 51 volunteers courting arrest these days is a steep fall from the few thousands on the first day. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is a seasoned campaigner, having organised two Morchas before, and he is preparing himself for a long-drawn-out struggle.

Those, who feared that the Morcha would endanger communal harmony, apart from damaging trade and industry, have to eat the crow. There is perfect rapport between Hindus and Sikhs, especially in Sikh-majority areas, which goes to the credit of the latter; not even one Hindu there has expressed fear of his safety. It is in Hindu majority areas that some mischief is being done either by Congress(I) workers or police agents. But Sikhs have, by and large, succeeded in not allowing the situation to become inflamed.

Both the government and Bharatiya Janta Party have tried to paint Akali demands as unreasonable. But Sardar Parkash Singh Badal, in a letter to opposition leaders, has stressed that they are in no way either communal or parochial; they are not only in the general interest of Punjabis but also in the national interest. None of them is designed to strengthen the hands of the extremists in the state or encourage separatist tendencies. Above all, all Akali morchas in the past have been peaceful and non-violent; this glorious tradition shall be maintained in the present struggle.

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Equality And Fraternity In Guru Granth Sahib

By : Sardar K.S. Duggal

The compilation and the consecration of the Holy Granth is a fascinating story of catholicity of outlook, brotherhood of man and communal amity.

With the passing away of Guru Gobind Singh, the tradition of the living Guru among the Sikhs came to an end. The Holy Granth was consecrated as the Guru. Those who looked for His blessing they found them in the Book.

And the text does not belong to the Sikh Gurus alone. The Holy Granth has aside from the hymns of the Sikh Gurus, compositions of 36 men of God belonging to the various castes and creeds, regions and avocations. Among them are Jaidev of Bengal, Surdas of Braj, Namdev, Trilochan and Parma Nand of Maharashtra, Beni, Rama Nand, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Ravidas and Bhikan of Uttar Pradesh, Dhanna of Rajasthan and Farid of Multan in the Punjab. Not only this, some of them belonged to the so-called lowest of the low caste. Kabir was a weaver, Namdev a seamster, Sain a barber, and Ravidas a tanner. The compiler of the Holy Granth did not allow communal or religious distinctions come in his way. Dhanna was a Jat while Pipa was a King. Farid was a Muslim divine and Bhikka a learned scholar of Islam, while Surdas was a Hindu mystic and poet.

Thus when a Sikh bows before and seeks guidance from the Holy Granth he offers his devotion as much to Farid, the renowned Muslim saint, and Jaidev, a Hindu bhakta of Krishna, as to Guru Nanak or Guru Arjan, the compiler of the Granth. It is a commonwealth of the men of God.

Be that as it may, it is said that some of the Guru's detractors made a complaint to the Mughal Emperor Akbar that the work compiled by Guru Arjan Dev included compositions that maligned Islam and Hinduism. Akbar happened to be touring the Punjab in those days. He summoned the Guru along with the copy of the Holy Granth. While the Guru did not consider it necessary to go personally, he sent two of his trusted lieutenants along with the compilation. It is said that the King had a hymn read out to him at random. It was a composition of Guru Arjan himself :

From clay and light God created the world
The sky, the earth, trees and water are made by him.
One must restrain oneself,
Hell is the punishment of the defaulter,
The miracle man, the riches, brothers, courtiers, kingdom and palaces
None will come to your rescue at the hour of departure.

It is said, the King heard the hymn and was deeply impressed. However, the detractors contended that it was on purpose that the Emperor was read out a piece that was not objectionable. At this the King himself pointed out a hymn and had it read out to him. This too was found least offensive to anyone. At this the wicked contended that since none of them know the Gurumukhi script, the Guru's agent read the hymns from memory rather than the text indicated. At this Akbar had Sahib Dyal, a common citizen, sent for to read out a piece pointed out by the King to him. The hymn read out was.

You don't see God who dwells in your heart.
And you carry about an idol in your neck.
A non-believer, you wander about churning water,
And you die harassed in delusion
The idol you call God will drown with you.

The Emperor heard it and was greatly moved. He said it was a work worthy of reverence. He made his offering of 51 gold mohurs to the Holy Granth and complimented Guru Arjan on the compilation and promised to visit Amritsar personally in the near future to pay his homage to the Guru. The Emperor remembered to keep his promise.

Compilation

The compilation of the Holy Granth was led to by not a very happy family wrangle. Guru Angad who followed Guru Nanak was not his son. He was one of his disciples, who was considered the fittest for the honour. Similarly Guru Amar Das, the third Guru, was also a devotee of Guru Angad and no blood relative as such. Accordingly when the time came to name his successor, Guru Amar Das decided in favour of Guru Ram Das in preference to his two sons, Mohan and Mohri.

While Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, was the son of Guru Ram Das, he was not the eldest son, who expected to succeed his father. This put off his eldest brother Prithi Chand who started maligning Guru Arjan and styled himself as a Guru. It was he who had complained to the King Emperor against the Holy Granth. It was also learnt that Prithi Chand had started composing his own verses and passing them on to the Sikhs as the scripture. When Guru Arjan came to know of it, he decided to compile the text of the compositions of Guru Nanak and his successors in an authentic volume to insulate them against spurious interpolations.

In view of the importance of the task, Guru Arjan had a special cell set up in a quiet corner of Ramsar, one of the holy tanks in Amritsar, Bhai Gurdas, the eminent Sikh litterateur, was entrusted with the job of preparing the master-copy, Guru Arjan dictating the text himself. When the Holy Granth was ready it was installed with the ceremony at the Harmandir and Bhai Budha, the oldest living disciple of Guru Nanak, appointed the first custodian. As a token of appreciation, Guru Arjan offered to include the compositions of Bhai Gurdas in the Holy Granth, but the modesty of a scholar he denied himself the great honour.

The holy Granth was rededicated by Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last living Sikh Guru towards the close of his life when he had Guru Tegh Bahadur's compositional also incorporated in the body of the text. Again Guru Gobind Singh's greatness of a poet or his modesty, he did not include his own verse in it.

Guru Gobind Singh has a massive volume of compositions to his credit. May be the consideration that weighed against the inclusion of his own verse was that the compilation as done by Guru Arjan would get too unwieldy.

The hymns compiled in the Holy Granth have been arranged in various Ragas according to Hindustani music. The hymns under every musical measure are led by Guru Nanak and other Sikh Gurus in chronological order, the compositions of the Bhaktas following them. There are approximately 6,000 hymns in the Holy Granth in 31 Ragas.

It is said that Kahna, Chhajju, Pilu and few other contemporary poets approached Guru Arjan and offered their verses for inclusion in the Holy Granth. The Guru duly considered their compositions but regretted his inability to include them in the volume for one reason or another.

Some of the bards who subscribed to the Sikh faith and composed several panegyrics in praise of the Sikh Gurus requested for incorporation of their compositions. A few of these were accepted.

The scripting of the text was completed in 1604, Guru Arjan providing an epilogue;

Three things are there in the vessel; Truth, contentment and learning; The ambrosial



The First Prakash Utsav of Sri Guru Granth Sahib falls on August 19.

Name of God is added to it.

The Name that is everybody's sustenance ;

He who consumes and enjoys it shall be saved.

One must not abandon this gift

It should ever remain dear to one's heart

The dark ocean of the world
Can be crossed by clinging to his Feet

Nanak, it is He who is everywhere.

This was followed by an appologia in utmost modesty :

I can't measure your grace

You've made me worthy of you

I am full of blemishes :

I have no virtue

You have been compassionate

Compassionate You have been and Kind

Thus I met the True Guru,

Says Nanak, I live on the Name alone,

It pleases my heart and soul.

The Rag Mala following this does not tally with the Ragas in the Holy Granth its inclusion continues to be a subject of controversy.

The text in the Holy Granth has utmost sanctity to it since its compilation. No change of even a syllable was permitted. For a long time the Sikhs would not permit the words in the text to be written or printed separately ; they continued to de copied as a continuous text-following the original done by Bhai Gurdas.

It it said, once Aurangzeb took exception to a particular verse in the Holy Granth. Ram Rai, son of Guru Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru, who was staying with Aurangzeb as his guest, altered the original slightly to please the king. When it was reported to the Guru, he was mortified and sent word to his son never to show his face to him again.

Once Guru Har Rai was resting. A Sikh entered his room while reciting hymns from the Holy Granth. The moment the Guru heard him, he rose and set upwright in reverence to the Holy Word.

Most Representative

The Holy Granth is the most ambitious compilation of devotional verse. It is also the most representative of its times. It has a grand design and a highly scientific manner of presentation. The pattern adopted by Guru Arjan was such as permitted incorporation of later compositional without interfering with the text of the works already compiled. Guru Gobind Singh didn't have to disturb the arrangement while adding Guru Tegh Bahadur's composition to the compilation.

It opens with the mool mantras, the basic postulate :

There is but one God

His Name is Truth

He is the Creator

He fears none or does he hate anyone

He is in the image of the Eternal

He is beyond birth and death

He is self-existent

He can be attained by the Guru's grace.

The thirty-one Ragas included in the Holy Granth are : Sri Rag, Majh, Gauri, Asa, Gujri, Dev Gandhari Bihagra Wadhansa, Sorath Dhanusari, Jaitsri, Todi, Bairagi, Tilang, Suhi, Bilawal Gaund, Ramkali, Nat Naryan, Mali Gaunda, Maru, Tukhari, Kidra, Bhairo, Basant, Sarang, Malhar, Kandda, Prabhati, Kalyan and Jaijaivanti. Following the compositions figuring under the various Ragas there are a number of other hymns like Sanskrit Slokas, the Gatha and the Swaiyyas.

As a literary work, the Holy Granth has some remarkable pieces of poetic excellence both from the view point of form and content. The language varies from Sanskrit and Persian to the Punjabi as spoken in the times in the form of various dialects. The poetic forms are as varied as they are original. They invariably reflect the mood of the text and succeed in communicating it eminently. The Gurus and the Bhaktas take ample liberties with the form and do not seem to observe the rigidities of the traditional poetic moulds. In order that their compositions were popular the Gurus preferred the measures and the tunes of the folk ballads and folk songs. This must have helped the Sikhs to sing the hymns in their proper tunes. It is a great pity that the Hindustani music having oral traditions, most of the tunes prescribed by the respective authors are lost with time.

The poetry of the Holy Granth is a mine of philosophic thought. It is highly revealing and reflects a way of life which is as simple as ennobling. Every word of it inspires and elevates. It has equal appeal for the erudite scholar as for the least literate reader. It evokes veneration as much from the Sikhs as from the non-Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims alike.

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NORTHERN RAILWAY

Sikhs And The 1857 Revolt

There have been allegations that Sikhs did not support the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 but on the other hand they helped the British suppress it. All this is a blant lie. Recently Arun Shourie also referred to this subject in his three articles in the 'Indian Express'. Lt.-Col. Gulcharan Singh (Retd.) has blasted such charges to pieces and proves Sikhs were more patriotic than other Indians.

The Sikhs have often been maligned for not supporting the mutiny of 1857, and, instead having helped the British in suppressing it. Whether it was a mutiny or a war of independence, is a controversial matter, and the people have applauded or condemned it from their respective points of view. According to a historian of repute, Sir J. N. Sarkar, "The Sepoy Mutiny was not a fight for freedom". (*Hindustan Standard, Puja Annual, 1956*). J. B. Kriplani says "it was nothing but an attempt by the old order to get back their kingdoms and principalities". (*Punjab, Past and Present, April, 1978)*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar writes that "it was neither 'first', nor 'national' nor "a war of independence". (*History of the Freedom Movement in India, xvii)*

The main reason given for the sepoys to revolt is religious, in that the newly introduced cartridge before it could be used had to be bitten by teeth thus polluting both the Muslims as well as the Hindus, as it was rumoured that pig's and cow's fat had been used for lubricating its paper wrappings. Often dicontentment breeds through bad administration, by inhuman treatment at the hands of officers, hurting religious feelings of their men, and various other factors. This goes on accumulating gradually through a long period and a time comes when this inflammable material needs only a match-stick to explode. In this case the newly introduced cartridge "an ill-judged piece of military reform" served as the needed match-stick.

At the time of the 1857 Mutiny, there were three different armies then existing in India, all under the East India Company. These were : (a) The Bengal Army, mainly composed of Brahmins and Rajputs from Oudh; of the 1,20,000 men comprising the regular cavalry and infantry regiments, probably 70,000 to 80,000 men were from Oudh. (The Punjab and Delhi, in 1857, Cave Brown, i, 26.)—strange enough there were no troops from Bengal in this army; (b) The Madras Army, mainly composed of South Indians; and (c) The Bombay Army, composed of 7,000 Brahmins and Rajputs from Oudh, an equivalent number of Marathas, and the balance of 12,000 men formed a mixed lot from all over the place. The Marathas hated the the Poorbias.

Of these three armies, not a single unit of the Madras Army took part in the Mutiny. On the other hand, they were employed in suppressing the mutineers. The Madras Artillery, in particular, was of great help in dealing with the mutineers at Kanpur and in Oudh. Six Native Battalions of the Madras Army were deployed in Madhya Pradesh area, and another fifty-two battalions stood fast throughout the Mutiny and were in existence till 1860.

Of the Bombay Army, only two battalions (26th and 27th) took part in the revolt. And out of these two units also, only a portion of each was affected. About 8,000 Marathas of the Bombay Army stood firm to the British. This too, in spite of the Nana Sahib considered to be their Peshwa. The Bombay Army applied most of the men to subdue the Mutiny, especially in the campaigns under Sir Huge Rose. (A Matter of Honour. 305) "The Madras and Bombay Armies", writes Macmunn, "as well as the Hyderabad Contingent, took an active part in suppressing mutiny and rebellion in various parts of India, notably in Central India." (The Armies in India, 101.)

As for the Bengal Army, it was only a portion of the caste-ridden men of the so-called high classes i.e. Brahmins and Rajputs who revolted. It was thus an insubordination developing into a revolt of part of the soldiery of one of the three Presidency Armies. What to call it a war of independence, it did not in any way even quicken the pace (for achieving independence), as ninety years later was done by the Indian National Army (I.N.A.), and the risings that took place in the Indian Navy and the Indian Corps of Signals of the Indian Army.

Then the whole effort was an un-coordinated and aimless affair. If the Muslims had decided to attack on a particular day, it was considered inauspicious by the Hindu pandits. "Luckily", wrote General Wilson to Mr. Colvin, in July 1857, "the enemy have no head and no method, and we hear dissensions are breaking out among them". (The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, p. 46.) It was not a well-planned and efficiently conducted operation, but was a spontaneous outburst of the few. The mutineers lacked a supreme commander and the money to finance the effort. They had no cause to fight for, and "To place armed men in the field both money and a cause were needed". (Churchill). J. L. Nehru writes: "It is clear, however, that there was a lack of nationalist feeling which might have bound the people of India together. Nationalism of the modern type was yet to come." (Discovery of India, 279). India then lacked a single political identity; various parts of the sub-continent struggled independently, and even fought against each other. There was no joint effort. Till lately, the term "Hindustan" had covered merely the area composed of the present Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

As for the Sikhs, they had recently been defeated, and on the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Sikh War were completely disarmed and disbanded; their non-governmental fortifications were razed to the ground; manufacture and sale of arms and ammunition was forbidden. Their leaders who "might have become the centres of disaffection" were either killed during the wars or had been deported from the Punjab. (The Fourth Punjab Administration Report, 1956-58, para 149). During the first year of administration of the Punjab by the British over 8,000 persons had been arrested. Thus the Sikhs were left leaderless and rudderless. There was no capable person of any importance left among them who could guide or lead the Sikh masses. Richard Temple, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Punjab, observed that "Upon these sturdy and courageous people the British victories seemed to have acted like a spell". (Men and Events of My Time in India, 1882). And "there was comfort too", wrote Koye," in the remembrance that the Punjab had been disarmed; that the warlike population of the conquered country no longer went about with swords "at their sides, or had firelocks stored in the houses." (History of the Indian Mutiny, ii, 316.)

The Poorbias had contributed to the army that has fought against Sikhs and helped the British defeat them and occupy their country. Besides other factors for which the Sikhs are themselves to blame, the Poorbias were a major contributing factor in making the Sikhs lose their kingdom and their independence. (The Poorbia had helped the British not only against the Sikhs, but also in the subjugation of the Jats, Marathas, Rajputs, Gorkhas and Pathans.) "The Poorbia sepoys", writes R.C. Majumdar, "had not the least scruple to fight the Sikhs". No one can so soon and so easily forget the misdeeds of others committed against them! How could then the Sikhs have helped the Poorbias in their aimless strife ?

During the Anglo-Sikh Wars. the British forces were mainly composed of the natives of India (other than the Punjabis). Besides the cavalry and artillery, the infantry element was mainly composed of the native troops. For example, during the battle of Mudki, the ten Native Infantry Regiments—2nd, 16th, 24th, 26th, 41st, 42nd, 45th, 47th, 48th and 73rd—that fought against the Sikhs were all composed of Poorbias. And during the battle of Ferozeshah that followed, General Littler's force was "all sepoy infantry except one weak British Regiment". (Thorburn, The Punjab in Peace and War, 47) These regiments were—12th, 14th, 33rd, 44th and 54th Native Infantry Regiments. Similarly, the Native Infantry Regiments that formed part of General Harry Smith's force that fought against the Sikhs at Aliwal and Buddowal were the 24th, 30th, 36th, 47th and 48th. The situation at Sabraon was no different.

Then there were the two Poorbia traitors—Lal Singh and Tej Singh, Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief, respectively of the Punjab—who had betrayed the faith imposed in them and acted treacherously. "With a little enterprise", writes Thorburn, "Tej Singh might have taken Ferozepore and Lal Singh Moodki, and thus captured the whole baggage and stores of the Anglo-Sepoy forces". (Ibid., 46). But no, they were not interested in victory for the Punjab. One can easily come to the conclusion that Poorbias had been responsible for the loss of independence by the Punjab and cosequently of the whole of the Indian sub-continent. Had the British beer defeated during the Anglo-Sikh wars, the foundations of their *Raj* in Hindustan would have been shaken. The British would have been on the run, and, many taking courage would have joined the forces fighting the

British. To consider the Mutiny, under such circumstances, as a war of independence is the travesty of truth.

After the annexation of the Punjab kingdom, there were over 10,000 British Troops, and a large number of the Poorbia regiments (about 36,000 Regular Hindustani troops according to Thorburn (p. 198); and Cave Brown, p. 41) stationed in the Punjab to suppress the Punjabis, especially the Sikhs. Most of the vital military centres like Attock, Kangra, Phillaur were with the Poorbia troops who also looked after the magazines and arsenals. The Punjabis considered the Poorbias as the army of occupation and detested them. The Sikhs "resented the presence of Eastern troops in the Punjab; their embryo nationalism had en Punjabi, not Indian, and they were to take any chance of getting their own back on the Bengal sepoy, this time with the British on their side." (A Matter of Honour, 236.) Secondly, the Hindustanis' presenc in the Punjab had deprived the Punjabis of service and emoluments rightfully theirs. "There was", writes Khilnani, "hardly any unifying link binding the Punjabees and the people of other provinces. It is therefore vain to expect that the Punjabees would make common cause with the Sepoys..." (Punjab under the Lawrences, 137.) Again, the Poorbia units located in the Punjab had not risen against the British in support of their brethren. Had these Poorbia units given lead, the Punjabi would most probably have been tempted to follow them. Dr. Khilnani says that "had the sepoys in the Punjab chosen to display one tenth of the energy and skill which Lawrence and his men showed they could have seriously threatened the British position." (p. 146). Subedar Sita Ram was of the opinion "that if the people of the Punjab should rebel and fight the *Sirkar* there would be 1,00,000 Hindustanis ready and willing to take service against them, if only to pay off old scores." (From Sepoy to Subedar, 84.) This show there was mutual distrust.

Sensing the Sikh feelings against the Poorbias, the British tried to placate the Sikhs in a number of ways. For example, Captain Hodson of the Hodson's Horse, "deliberately" shot and killed two Mughal princes and had their bodies publicly displayed at the place where a century and a half earlier, their ninth guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur had been executed on orders of the then Mughal Emperor. (Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, 302). Thus the Sikhs started regarding Captain Hodson as an "avenger of their martyered Gooroo" and were ready to follow him any where.

Major Macmunn sums up the Sikh feelings and their attitude towards the Mutiny thus : "The motives that brought the Punjab and the Border to our aid, were no doubt mixed ones. Some content with our administration, some liking for English ways seen at their best in the cold of the Northern winters, some memories of hard hitting of Sabraon, of Chillianwala, and Gujrat, a dislike of the Poorbias, our abetting instrument in conquering them....all had, no doubt, their place." (The Armies in India, p. 102.)

As for the Sikh States, they did help the British with men, money and material. If we go into their past history, it will be seen that these States, especially Patiala, have always been latchies of the British. It was only due to them that the Amritsar Treaty of 1809 was signed between the British and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The treaty divided the Sikhs into two camps and also checked the Maharaja from consolidating the Sikhs into one compact nation, and marked the Satluj as a permanent division among them, which is even now so marked. These States had always acted for their selfish ends, without bothering whether their actions were against the Sikhs as a nation or not.

The mutineers had placed Bahadur Shah on the Delhi throne ; this also seems to have prevented the Sikhs from supporting the mutiny. This must have revived the past when the Mughals had committed savage atrocities on the Sikhs and tried to absolutely finish them off. Salah-ud-din Malik is correct in calling the 1857 Mutiny as a "Muslim rebellion". (The Punjab, Past and Present, April 1974). Giving the mutiny a communal form also seems to have been one of the major causes of its failure.

Bahadur Shah contacted the Maharaja of Patiala and wrote to him urging him to join the mutiny. He wrote :

"To him of noble rank and lordly dignity, our own devoted vessal, worthy of our confidence and favour, the union of benevolence and high mindedness. Ner-Inder Singh, the Maharaja of Patiala. Dated the 21st Ramzan.

"My life is passing from my lips, come then, that I may survive ; For if I cease to be, what will become of you ?

"Of the downfall of this Government, and of the great revolutions in the course of development, which are at the present being bruited about, you have heard from the papers. Relying upon your well proved devotedness and loyalty towards this our own favour-bestowing family, you are written to, that with all possible speed you present yourself at our Court, resembling that of Khusrau (Cyrus), with a suitably-equipped force.

This matter admits of no delay, for in this extremity,

There is neither plan of attack nor way of escape.

"In such straits, therefore, it behoves you, as you desire the increase of our power and our welfare, to obey this summons without delay."

The Raja, instead of replying to the letter or acting as directed, passed on the letter to the British.

This attitude towards the Mutiny, went for all the erst-while States in India : Scindia, Holkar, Gaekwad, Nizam, J & K all helped the British. They supported the British in subduing the revolt, or the Sepoy Mutiny as it is commonly known. Dost Mohammad of Kabul, with his Pathans known for their verility and independence did not oppose the British. "While", writes General Innes, "leaders and chiefs of the Mohammadan Multan and frontier tribes under the influence of Edwardes and the frontier officers raised regiment after regiment of their Multani, Pathan, and other followers (not Sikhs at all), who marched down to the seat of war, and aided in the conflict at Delhi." (*Henry Lawrence, 119*). Raja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, whose father had betrayed the Sikhs and for which he had received the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a reward, supported the British in crushing the mutiny ; he lent 3,000 State troops to the British. (*Marx and Engels, The First War of Independence, 1857-58, p. 100*). 10,000 Nepalese Gorkhas under Jang Bahadur also came to the assistance of the British (*Ibid., 124 ; Thorburn, 198*) and, in the words of Lord Canning, acted as "breakwater to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave."

Let us now take a few cases of those who are lauded for their services to the Mutiny. First of all take the case of *Rani of Jhansi*. She had not initially joined the mutiny, but did so later, and only when her own personal interest suffered at the hands of the British. Rani Lakshmi Bai was married to one Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi; the latter, who died childless within a few years of his marriage, had adopted a child Damodar before his death. The British, however, refused to recognise the adopted son, and in 1854, Lord Dalhousie annexed Jhansi against the pleadings of the Rani. She was even driven out of her husband's fort and made to live on the pittance of a pension (£ 6,000 per year) fro m the British after deducting her husband's debt. Again, when she asked for a lakh of rupees (out of the six lakhs deposited with them) for her adopted son's thread ceremony, the British refused to oblige her. Seeing the Rani thus dissappointed, a few sepoys went to her palace with loaded rifles and tried to prevail upon her to give them supplies and also to join their ranks. The Rani refused to join them, and even asked for the British help. Finding no helpful response from the British, the charming, graceful, "ardent, daring, licentious" Rani joined the mutiny. Under such circumstances to speak of her as the "Indian Joan of Arc" is to belittle that Frenchwoman. (For further details, the reader may refer to Homi Mistry's *Rebels af Destiny*).

Another such person was Nana Dhondu Pant (commonly known as Nana Sahib), one of the three adopted sons of Baji Rao, the Peshwa. After his

The Akali Movement, Babbar Akalis and the Ghadar Movements all are a proof of the Sikh patriotism and their fight against the British Imperialism. During these movements numerous Sikhs courted arrest, their properties were confiscated, many were hanged and many more were awarded other punishments of various types. The Sikh sacrifices for the liberation of the motherland have proportionately been much more than those of the two major communities combined. During the fight for freedom, out of those Indians sent to gallows, 95 percent were Sikhs, of those sentenced to imprisonment 90 percent were Sikhs, out of the 2646 Indians deported for life 2146 were Sikhs.

defeat, Baji Rao was sent to Bithoor (near Kanpur) on a pension of eight lakhs of rupees. On Baji Rao's death, the British discontinued the pension. Nana Sahib took his case to London where it was rejected. He was also not allowed the use of his father's seal. So, this "great dispossessed" joined the mutiny, like the Rani of Jhansi, for personal reasons and not for any nationalist cause. Nehru is also of the same opinion; he writes that "Those who had joined the Revolt were as a rule the disinherited and those deprived of their power and privileges by the British authority, or those who feared that some such fate was in store for them". (*The Discovery of India, 282*).

To say that no Sikh fought the British during the Mutiny is also not correct. After the Sikh Wars, the Bengal Army regiments were "leavened" with a considerable number of Sikhs. And "when the trouble came", writes Macmunn, "the Sikhs in the Bengal regiments, either infected with sympathy for the men, of their corps or too isolated and distributed throughout the companies to dare assert their own feelings, joined Mutiny in the first instance, while their compatriots flocked to the British standards". (*The Armies in India, 85)*. According to Salah-ud-din, the first man to be hanged in the Punjab for sedition was a Sikh civilian of Ropar. (*PPP, April 1974, p. 179*). Cave-Browne gives this man's name as Mohar Singh (*op. cit., i, 225*). Maharani Jindan, a widow of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, fomented strife "among the Punjabi troops quartered in Oudh and the Sikhs in the Punjab itself." *(Memoirs of the Mutiny, Col. Francis Cornwallis Maude, i, 31.)*

Masson writing about the Sikhs in the Company's service before the Mutiny says that "though most of them had proved reliable, it was not true of all. But he believed that hostility to the Poorbias and the chance of loot would be strong attractions and that some Sikhs would see that their hope of a big part in a new India would lie in a military alliance with the British. He took this calculated risk and was proved right." (The Matter of Honour, 291). I do not think this could be the reason. The Sikhs obeyed their masters and took toll of the hated Poorbias. "The so-called peace in the Punjab during 1857-58' writes Ahluwalia, "was secured by ruthless suppression rather than any sense of deep seated love and loyalty in the minds of the Punjabis for the British. It is a recorded fact that during the dangerous phase of the rebellion Indian civilians in high positions suspected of even minor misdeamanour, were hanged by the dozens. Scores of Punjabi deserters from the various regiments were chased and shot dead and hundreds placed behind the prison bars. *Bairagees, sadhus* and followers of the *derahs* of *Bhais* Bir Singh and Maharaj Singh were made a special target of this policy. The latter's name was of such a great dread to the British, that his successor Maharaj Singh the junior was arrested while giving religious sermons to his disciples in a village 16 miles away from Amritsar. Bedi Bikram Singh who was allowed to live peacefully at Amritsar after his surrender to the British in 1849 was prohibited to go out for the next six months for his daily horse ride. The British nicknamed him as "the sacredotal high priest of infanticide notoriety." (Bhai Maharaj Singh, 94-95.) "So complete was the state of confinement and surveillance considered necessary for the safety of this "wily fanatic", that during these troubles times even the privilege, hitherto enjoyed, of riding a little pony, was withdrawn. He was daily required to pay a visit of courtesy—i.e. personally to report himself to the Chief civilian of the station, F. Cooper, esq.; and on the occasion of one of these visits the author was *presented* to him." *(Cave Browne, 233-234, fn.)*

Why then single out Sikhs and aportion the blame to the them alone when they formed only 2% of the country's population? Why did the millions of Hindus and Muslims lag behind in their patriotic zeal? Why did the Indian Christians remain staunch allies of the British? The large percentage of the breaucrats, landlords, factory owners, bankers, capitalists who had been the pillars of the British Raj in India was made up of the Hindus followed distantly by Muslims. And after the Mutiny, the British relegated the Muslims and bestowed the benefits to Hindus; "besides this, writes Dodwell, in the period immediately following the Mutiny the British rule offered fewer compensation to the Muslimr than to his Hindu fellow-countryman. A larger proportion of the muslim than of the Hindu Government servants had elicited to join the cause of Mutineers." *A Sketch of the History of. India from 1858—1918, H. Dodwell, p. 251*, this also speaks for itself.

As for the Sikhs and their patriotism, they, ever since the loss of their independence, have always been in the forefront in the fight for the country's liberation. Bhai Maharaj Singh was the first to raise the standard of rebellion against the British. He was arrested and banished from the Punjab and sent to Singapore where he died in jail on 5th July, 1856. Then came the Kuka movement, commencing a few months before the outbreak of the Mutiny. "The movement", writes Mr. Warburton who had been in close contact with the movement since 1872, "from the beginning was manifestly directed against the existing government and in the recorded opinions of the most competent authorities of that time, involved a serious menace to the peace of the individual districts". (Bhai Maharaj Singh, 96). A large number of the Kukas were arrested and their properties confiscated; many were blown off by guns. Their leader, Baba Ram Singh, was exiled to Burma where he also, like Bhai Maharaj Singh, died in jail.

The Akali Movement, Babbar Akalis and the Ghadar Movements all are a proof of the Sikh patriotism and their fight against the British Imperialism. During these movements numerous Sikhs courted arrest, their properties were confiscated, many were hanged and many more were awarded other punishments of various types. The Sikh sacrifice for the liberation of the motherland have proportionately been much more than those of the two major communities combined. During the fight for freedom, out of those Indians sent to gallows, 95% were Sikhs, of those sentenced to imprisonment 90 were Sikhs, out of the 2646 Indians deported for life, 2146 were Sikhs. Acknowledging the fact, Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in a paper composed in February, 1936, on the Punjab Politics, wrote : "Then in nationalist anti-British activities the contribution of Sikhs has been very great." (*PPP, April 1971.*)

Indian Army was the main prop of the British Empire, and when this prop remnined no more (as was proved by the Indian National Army), the British decided to quit India. In the I.N.A. also the Sikhs vere represented proportionately in far greater numbers as compared to the other Indian communities who really benefited when the country became independent.

It is strange that all the Sikh activities, their sacrifices in life and property in the cause of India's independence are conveniently ignored, and on the other hand, they are blamed for not joining the 1857 Mutiny handiwork of a portion of one of the three Presidency Armies, whereas the most to blame for this failure are the two major communities, especially the majority community.

Sardar Sant Singh Honoured



Dr. Chenna Reddy, Governor, Punjab, presenting a distinguished services award to Sardar Sant Singh, Honorary Secretary, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar for his 40 years service to the orphans, blind, sick and the aged at the 2000th meeting of the Rotary Club of Amritsar.
Rotarian President Dilbir Singh who presided over the function is seen with the Governor.

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Cultural and Social Activities in Capital

Amrit Vani Releases Punjabi Folk Songs Cassettes

By : Sardar Piara Singh, M.A.



Smt. Surinder Kaur seen at her best, delighting the audience with her melodious Punjabi folk soug.

To celebrate the release of five new prerecorded cassettes of Punjabi Folk Songs *Amrit Vani* organised an evening of Punjabi Music at Kamani Hall last week. Inaugurating the function, Kanwar Mohinder Singh Bedi, an ardent promoter of poetry said, "I am a Punjabi and I should have written in this language; but the irony of fate is that I had distinction in English and Mathematics but I compose poetry in Urdu." He had intense love for Punjabi songs and poetry and one could assert that there was a variety in Punjabi folk songs as compared to such songs of other regions, he added.

Kanwar Mohinder Singh Bedi appreciated the efforts of the management of *Amrit Vani* and Babbar Sons to provide best Gurbani Cassettes by eminent Ragis and now releasing Punjabi folks songs.

The first cassette (PF 7010) contains eleven Punjabi marriage songs by Kulwant Kaur and Harmeet Kaur; the second cassette (PF 7011) provides eight Punjabi folk songs by Sarvjeet; the third cassette (PF 7012) gives Punjabi folk songs *Koka* by Sarvjeet; the fourth cassette (PF 7013) covers nine Punjabi melodies by Harmeet Kaur and Kulwant Kaur. Famous Punjabi songs from the golden voiced Surinder Kaur are covered in the 5th cassette (PF 7014).

All these artists presented selected songs at the stage with the accompaniment of orchestra playing all kinds of instruments. If any proof is required to gauge the popularity of Punjabi melodies, it was amply demonstrated by the packed hall applauding the sweet lilting voices and clapping with Surinder Kaur while she rendered—*Tar Bina Tumba Wajda-i-Na*. The whole credit for the success of the show goes to Compere Anil Sud and the Music Directors Shri Vinod Shankar. Shri D.K. Prabhakar and Pandit Shiv Prasad.

Sikh Theatre

The necessity to propagate Sikh philosophy and history needs no emphasis. The non-Sikhs who are not aware of valour and sacrifices of the Sikhs, at times, fail to appreciate the aspirations and the sentiments of Sikh community. Sikh Theatre, a non-political, non-profit earning organisation will organise dramas, musicals, operas, audio-visuals, kavi darbars, exhibitions, festivals, seminars relating to Sikhism. Apart from promoting *Shabad Kirtan* and developing close contacts with other Sikh organisations to further the avowed aims and objects, Sikh Theatre will also undertake to stage Punjabi dramas of good social, spiritual, philosophical, educational or moral theme.

The maiden ventures of Sikh Theatre will be staging of *Neotian Di Oat* (Shelter of the Shelterless), script : Gursharan Singh, Direction : Sardarjit Bawa, Production : Hardeep Singh, from 1.45 P.M. to 3 P.M. and *Sant Sipahi* (Saint Soldier), script : Gurdial Singh Phull, Direction : Sardarjit Bawa, Production : Hardip Singh at 3.45 P.M. to 5.30 P.M. on Sunday, the 22nd August, 1982 at Mavlankar Hall, New Delhi. The admission cards for these dramas can be had from Sardar Amarjit Singh Kohli, President, Sikh Theatre, 607, Asia House, Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi (Phone 382496).

The organisers of Sikh Theatre has arranged to stage Sikh religious dramas in Gurdwaras, Schools, Institutions or public show in open ground where electric connection is available, at a subsidised cost of Rs. 1000/- per show (which includes performance, transport, boarding and lodging) from 23rd August 1982 to 5th September 1982. Those interested may contact Sardar Amarjit Singh at the above address.

A Commendable Effort

A select gathering enjoyed a delightful evening providing ghazals and geets at India International Centre, New Delhi under the aegis of *Yuv Kala Sangam*. The highlight of the programme was Kathak dance by Baby Kanika Kaur Kohli who has been learning this art for about two years. She has already given seven stage performances and will be appearing on TV on 16 Aug., 1982 at 6 P.M. other artists who entertained the The audience were Shri R.P. Sinha, Kumari Renu Saxena and Sardar Sahib Singh. The ghazals were from famous poets including Charanjit Singh who has two publications to his credit and takes active interest in the functions of the Sangam as Organising Secretary.

DELHI'S SMALL INDUSTRIES : BIG CONTRIBUTION

Delhi has emerged after independence as one of the important centres of modern small scale industries in the country. It has today about 45,000 industries (investment Rs. 867 crores) which produce a large variety of sophisticated goods worth Rs. 2196 crores annually and provide employment to about 4.5 lakh workers. The manufacturing sector contributes about 17.12% to the State income.

Industrial Development Programme : Some High Lights

Sixth Plan outlay—Rs. 2161.77 lakhs ; expenditure in 1980-81—Rs. 545.05 lakhs; outlay for 1982-83—Rs. 598 lakhs; outlay for 1982-83 Rs. 598 lakhs.

70 industrial plots developed at the functional Industrial Estate for Electronics; building of Testing and Development centre for Electronics also completed.

The big industrial complex, comprising of 600 flatted factories, coming up fast at Rani Jhansi Road, will be ready next year for allotment; when completed will generate employment for about 13,500 persons.

Nine functional industrial Estates being developed in 160 acres at Patparganj, also to by ready be next year; on completion employment potential—25000 persons; plan to extend the area by another 100 acres.

Construction of six Group Flatted Factories (cost about Rs. 200 lakhs) starts soon at Jhilmil Tahirpur; land already acquired, plans ready.

Allotment of over 1000 plots developed at Narela through DSIDC to be made shortly; employment potential about 15000.

Allotment process for 6 new work sheds for handlooms at Nand Nagari almost complete.

Cheaper Loans

Rs. 18 lakhs provided this year at nominal rate of 4% interest for tiny and household industries.

Subsidy to engineer entrepreneurs, reducing interest on loans to an effective rate of 7% only.

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BOOK REVIEW

Inside View of Mughal Empire

THE PEACOCK THRONE by Waldemar Hansen ; P-560; Price : Rs. 120/-; Publisher : Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Delhi.

Mughals ruled India for less than two hundred years, yet they were the geniuses who unified India, hypnotized her, branded her and left a legacy which still dominates the Indian scene. The book under review which starts from 1605, the last days of Akbar, the Great, is a history of royal intrigues. But it has its own uniqueness. The author has command over the facts like a dedicated historian but he has also the narrative style of a fiction writer and analytical insight of a research scholar. His depiction of royal Mughal characters is artistic and he succeeds in painting the pen portraits in a most colourful language. He calls Nur Mahal as a "scheming bitch" and Babur, a homosexual. Describing Humayun's marriage with fourteen years old Hamida Begum, he writes "Her hand could hardly reach his collar, but she would become the mother of Akbar, the Great". Similarly, he refers to Sikhs as "bearded men from Punjab with combs gathering together the woman's length hair which their religion forbade them to cut".

But the stress in the book is more on intrigues within the royal paraphernalia and the book lacks important details of history. For example, while even emperor Jahangir in his autobiography Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri makes a reference to the help extended by Guru Arjan to Khusrau, the author while dealing with the subject makes not even a mention of it although he narrates that Khusrau's insurrection failed near Lahore and quotes Jahangir that "I ordered them to hang up and impale those who had taken part in the rebellion". However, he makes a passing reference to Sikh support for Dara Shikoh and their opposition to Aurangzeb. His remarks about the Sikhs : "These angels of God soon turned from love to war, and in their struggle against Mughals, they became formidably disciplined soldiers. Brave Sikhs would continue throughout the eighteenth century untill they carved an independent state out of the Punjab," are quite realistic and complimentary. The author has dealt with Jahangir and Nur Jahan but has not made any reference to the Sikh version that Guru Hargobind had accompanied Jahangir on his entour of Kashmir and Nur Jahan was fascinated by Guru ji's personality.

The book reveals quite a few secrets of history which are hitherto not too well known. For instance, the author quotes from a secret letter allegedly written by Shah Jahan to his son Murad suggesting Aurangzeb's assassination. It reads "I have conferred the Sovereignty of the whole of India on my illustrious son Murad. I enjoin you to be most careful—and not to divulge this secret to any one—After a few days, invite your brother and his son to your camp on the plea of banqued and see the last of them."

Inside view of royal zanana and behaviour of its inmates is also beautifully depicted by the author while describing the visit of an Italian doctor for medical check up of the royal ladies "on his visits to the zanana the Italian had to play blind-man's buff : with eyes covered, he was led in by a eunuch and taken out in the same manner, Boredom spawned lascivious thoughts, and some ladies only pretended to be sick in order to talk to the doctor or have their pulses taken. The doctor stretches out his hand inside the curtain; they lay hold of it, kiss it, and softly bite it. Some, out of curiosity, apply it to their breast".

To sum up the book is informative, factually accurate and makes a fascinating reading. It is nicely printed and has a nice get up. The book, though highly priced is yet worth its value. It is useful for students of history as well as for layman.

—Gurmit Singh
Advocate

Origin of Punjabi Novel

PUNJABI NOVEL; VIDHI TE VICHAR (in Punjabi)— by Dr. Swinder Singh Uppal; Publishers : Punjabi Writers' Coop. Society, New Delhi; Pages: 200; Price: Rs. 32.

This is a valuable contribution of an eminent Punjabi scholar to the study and valuation of Punjabi Literature. There are not many books of high standard in Punjabi on the technique of Novel as a form of Art. This book is a welcome addition in that line .

As stated in the Foreward, the author has been writing articles for Punjabi University, Punjabi Language Deptt. and Punjab University on the subject of Novel aud Punjabi novelists. These writings in modified form plus some more material is the content of this book.

In the various chapters, the author has discussed Novel and Epic, Technique and Form of Novel, origin of Punjabi Novel, contribution of Bhai Vir Singh and Nanak Singh to Punjabi Novel. He has given the views of a number of celebrated writers of the West—old classical like Aristotle and others recent ones. His discussion about different theories and schools of thought also is intriguing. In the later chapters typical Punjabi Novels of a number of authors have been discussed. Thus it is a very useful book for scholars and students of Punjabi Novel.

Although not a systematic study of the development of Punjabi Novel, the author has devoted a good part of his study to this aspect also. In this he has overlooked the important role played by Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid's novels. It was Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid, and not Sardar Nanak Singh as stated by the author (p. 76), who was the first one to bring Punjabi Novel to the threshold of the common household.

On the whole this study is sure to inspire our writers and critics to bring the Punjabi Novel up to the international standards in the not distant future.

—Ardaman Singh,
M.A., LL. B.

Scholarly Study on Law

THE CRISIS OF THE INDIAN LEGAL SYSTEM by Upendra Baxi; published by Vikas; pages 405; price Rs. 135.

Our legal system is a melange of the western style, as inherited from the British, and basic Indian structure handed down to us from the Vedic period in form of village panchayats. Between the base and the apex are various levels of courts, divided at the middle rung into civil and criminal categories. Justice delayed is justice denied is the old adage, and arrears of cases pending in various courts, especially in the high courts and the supreme court, point out the sorry state of affairs. Moreover, these delays involve wastage of time and money which an ordinary man cannnot afford. This is only one of the many basic flaws in our legal system. To pinpoint any single cluster of factors responsible for this crisis is not easy. There is a close link between the law on one hand and the political system and economy on the other.

The book is divided into 11 chapters and makes an impressive appraisal of socie justice and inequality. Backed by a historical perspective, it takes the reader through the colonial nature of the legal system to the present-day craze for law reforms. There is also a peep into our police system and the management of prisons. "Nyaya Panchayats" at the village level come in for special review. In the epilogue, the recent blindings in Bihar and the revolt of policemen in several states have been brought in just to prove how other forces can come into play and become a burden on our legal framework.

It is a well-documented, serious and scholarly study which lays stress on how ineffective and insufficient are the provisions of our laws and what difficulties are encountered in their interpretation and enforcement.

—R.L. Bhagat, Advocate



International Scene

Stability Of Iraq Threatened By Iranian Victories

(By our special correspondent)

After more than a year of humiliating defeats, Iran has achieved a remarkable turn about in its 20-month old war with Iraq. From the position of being a decided underdog, Iranian forces have slashed back at the Iraqi invaders in recent months, driving the forces of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from most of the 10,000 square miles of Iranian territory captured during the early weeks of the war.

While doing so, revolutionary Iran has also moved much closer to achieving a long avowed ambition, the destruction of the Hussein government. As members of the Ba'thist minority of the Sunni Muslim sect (composing less than 40 percent of Iraq's population) the Hussein government is seen in Tehran as being made up of "infidels".

The decisive victory at Khorramshahr last may marked the turning point of the lengthy war which began when the Hussein forces swept across Iran's borders in September 1979. It has been a costly conflict for both sides. Iran, however, has paid the highest price. As many as 40,000 Iranian troops have been killed, at least 1.5 million Iranian civilians have been made homeless, and the financial drain of the war to Iran has been in excess of US dollar 1000 billion. Despite this, Iran shows no signs of seeking an end to hostilities. Instead, victory at Khorramshahr appears to have hardened Tehran's resolve.

"We will stop at nothing in order to gain our legitimate rights", Majlis (parliament) speaker Ali Akbar Hasheimi Rafsanjani recently declared, "and the fall of Saddam Hussein is our greatest right".

Iran has also expanded its condition for accepting a ceasefire. To the long standing demand that all Iraqi troops must first leave Iranian soil, Iran has added reparations claims of US dollar 150 billion.

More ominous is the threat issued to other Gulf states by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. "I warn the governments of the region to deal with us according to the tenets of Islam. Otherwise, we will enforce God's will againt them".

Khomeini's threat was directed at Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, which have been providing aid to Iraq. Iran's President Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei, made the point more harshly in a June 5 address. He bluntly told the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf to cease support to Iraq or face the consequences. "People who live in glass houses should not provoke the anger of some one who has lots of rocks within easy reach", he said.

Despite the wider threat, Iran's immediate target is Iraq. From the moment he seized power, Khomeini has called for the otherthrow of Saddam Hussein. Beyond constant radio propaganda urging Iraqi Shiites to rise against Hussein, the Iranian, campaign includes direct material support of Shiite dissidents in Iraq, training and equipping of a Shiite opposition group in Tehran, and preparing the 150,000 Iraqi Shiites who have fled from Iraq into Iran for open rebellion upon their return. It was mainly because of this subversive campaign that Hussein launched his attack on Iran in 1979. The major question now in the middle east is whether Khomeini will cross Iraqi borders to gain by military force what has so far not been achieved by subversion.

While there can be no denying Iran's outstanding success in recent months, it may be too early to count the Hussein govern ment out. The President of Iraq was firmly in control of a recent council which offered a ceasefire in the war. Iraqi war planes still range over Iran at will. Hussein's government keep its opposition under right control. Syria's closure of the pipeline which delivered Iraqi oil across Syrian territory could drastically lower Iraqi oil revenues which exceeded US dollar 25 billion in 1981, Iraq enjoys full financial backing of the major gulf states.

The fall of the Hussein regime, however, could lead to the establishment of a radical Shiite government in Iraq. This would give Khomeini control of two key countries of gulf, a stronger platform from which to launch his subversion against other states of the region. Syria could well become a third member of this force which would threaten the stability of the entire area. This remains in doubt, however, as Syrian foreign minister, Farouk Al Shara has pointedly made it clear to Iran that Syrian support will end should Iranian forces move across Iraqi borders.

New RBI Governor Dr. Manmohan Singh

Dr Manmohan Singh, Secretary, Planning Commission, has been appointed Governor of the Reserve Bank.

An official announcement said the appointment would be for a period of five-year with effect from September 16.

COURT NOTICES

In the Court of
Shri Jagdish Chandra,
District Judge, Delhi.
Guardianship Act Case
No. 383/82

Sh. Naval Kishore Aggarwal s/o Sh. Jai Kishan Dass Aggarwal r/o H. No. 7/11, Roop Nagar, Delhi-7.

Versus Petitioner

State

The petitioner above-named having applied for permission to sell the share of minor in land measuring 2 bigha 10 biswas, vide Khasara No. 877, Situated in the area of village Burari, Delhi State. This 19th day of August, 1982 have been fixed for hearing of the application, and notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friends, kinsman or well-wisher of the aforesid minor desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of this opposition to the applicant on the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the court. This 5th day of August, 1982.

Sd/- District Judge,
(Seal) —— Delhi.

In the Court of
Shri Jagdish Chandra,
District Judge, Delhi.
Guardianship Act Case
No. 374/82

Sh. Jagdish Mittar Chugh r/o Late Sh. Sant Ram r/o L-1/136-B, D.D.A., L.I.G. Flats, Kalkaji, New Delhi-19.

Versus Petitioner

Foster Care Home Services, Gulabi Bagh, Delhi

The petitioner above-named having applied for adoption of the person of minor Miss Priti, born on 24-9-1979 (Orphan). This 28th day of August, 1982 has been fixed for hearing of the application, and notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friends, kinsman or well wisher of the aforesaid minor desire to adopt of the person of the said minor or desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such adoption or in support of this opposition to the applicant on the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the court. This 5th day of August, 1982.

Sd/- District Judge,
(Seal) —— Delhi.

In the Court of
Shri Jagdish Chandra,
District Judge, Delhi.
Guardianship Act Case
No. 320/82

Sh. Om Dev Yadav s/o Sh. Hargo Lal Yadav r/o Hydel Colony, 132 K.V. Sub Station, Civil Lines, Jail Road, Gonda (U.P).

Versus Petitioner

1. State, 2. S.O.S. Childrens Villages of India, 506-507, Vishal Bhawan, 95, Nehru Place, New Delhi.

The petitioner above-named having applied for adoption of the person of minor Master Pankaj, born on 3-11-1981 (Orphan). This 28th day of August, 1982 has been fixed for hearing of the application, and notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friends, kinsman or well-wisher of the aforesaid minor desire to adopt of the person of the said minor or desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such adoption or in support of this opposition to the applicant on the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the court. This 5th day of August, 1982.

Sd/- District Judge,
(Seal) Delhi.

In the Court of
Shri Jagdish Chandra,
District Judge, Delhi.
Guardianship Act Case
No. 384/82

Sh. Naval Kishore Aggarwal s/o Sh. Jai Kishan Dass Aggarwal r/o 7/11, Roop Nagar, Delhi-7.

Versus ...Petitioner

State

The petitioner above-named having applied for permission to sell the share of minor in land measuring 2 bigha 5 biswas vide Khasra No. 876/2, situated in area of village Burari; Delhi State. This 19th day of August, 1982 has been fixed for hearing of the application, and notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher of the aforesaid minor desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of this opposition to the applicant on the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the court. This 5th day of August, 1982.

Sd/- District Judge,
(Seal) —— Delhi.

NOTICE

As we will be busy in preparing our 31st Annual Number, we will not bring out our issues of 23rd & 30th August, 1982.

Our special Annual Number will be the first issue of September and will be posted to our subscribers and news agents in the first week of September, 1982.

—Manager.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sikh Leaders and Gravity of Present Situation

Sir, Unity in Panth was never missed more as today. Sikh leadership once again is showing lack of foresight. Recent happenings in Punjab have shown that the anti-Sikh forces that may be under different political labels, scramble to oppose the Sikhs when time warrants. They cut across political lines and oppose Sikhs as one. Mr. R.L. Bhatia, MP, stated after meeting the Prime Minister that Hindus would feel insecure if Sikh IGP is posted in Punjab. The thinking behind such utterance warrants serious consideration by all minorities. Neither the Sikh leaders nor the masses learn lesson from them, nor do they realize the gravity of situation.

There are two ways to protect, preserve, project and propagate one's faith.

One is "internal"; one's conviction and faith in the principles. The other is "external", through backing by political power.

History is full of examples to illustrate the two ways.

Hinduism has spread through the backing of state. Priests always held a commanding influence on the ruler. When during the time of Emperor Ashoka, Buddhism became the state religion, Hinduism lost a lot of its ground and followers. Later, when state became weak and Buddhism was deprived of state backing, Hinduism staged a comeback that was spearheaded by Shankaracharya.

Similarly, Christianity spread through political patronage. But it now lacks internal conviction, dedication. I learn there are about 200 churches that lie abandoned and are for sale in England. Of these, at least three have been bought by Sikhs.

Islam enjoys, and employed, both means of propagations. Muslims have a conviction within and state gave it a rapid spread. It is a sign of internal conviction that has motivated the present revival movements and fundamentalism. Iran, which had lost Islamic values under the Shah, had "Islamic" revolution under Khomeini.

In contrast to all these, Jewism has struggled and survived for more than 200 years, only on the foundation of internal conviction and faith. State has only now come into existence to provide a sanctuary and a political backing to it. Jews all over the world are out to save and help their motherland at all costs, however far removed they may be physically, living in different cultures and societies. But their faith and language was, and is, the unifying factor whether they are Ashkeazamins or Saperdhis.

Sikhs have lost the opportunity of providing a state backing to Sikhism. The need is to save Sikhism from onslaught of the militant opponents and from the naive move to assimilate it by the majority community. Attack now is slimy and cannot be met with drawn swords as we did in Bhangani, Anandpur Sahib, and Kup Rahira. It is time of computors, wherein brain rather than brawn is needed.

We have to resort to methods that are devoid of state backing. To do so we can learn a lot from the Jewish community. We have first to ingrain the fundamental Sikh principles in our mind, body and soul. Then create a sense of brotherhood amongst Sikhs and not feel shy of being called fanatic. It is single-minded devotion and diehard fanaticism that provides strength and will to survive.

Sikhism is a dynamic religion and not static. Therefore, to readjust ourselves to present circumstances and situation is a must. At the time of advent of Sikhism, the oppressor happened to be Muslims. Thus, a sort of self-imposed isolation was created to save our values from the onslaught of Islamic values and ideas. This danger was easier to fight because it was an open aggression—physical, moral, cultural and religious.

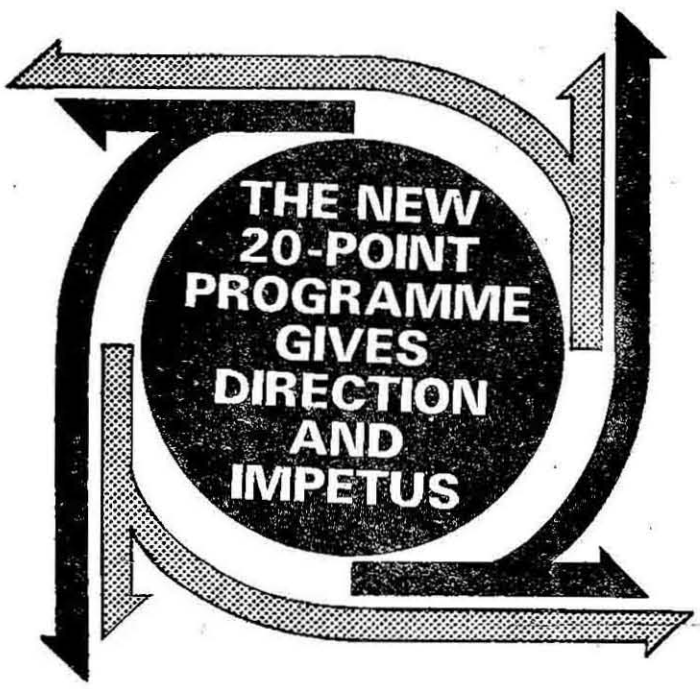
But the conditions today are different. We have to beware of and protect ourselves from a community which proposes friendship but denies us our independent identity. Same "self-imposed isolation" is now required against the threat of Hindu religion, culture, language and, above all, its "imperialism". We will not be able to defend ourselves till we make a complete break and stand on our basic fundamental principles.

In politics we have created enough mess to the detriment of Sikh community. Let us now work to save the religious values as handed down by the Ten Masters, before the community Sikhs and is assimilated by the saline ocean called Hinduism.

Selection of a Sikh as President of India has proved that the importance of Sikh community has been realized. It is upto Sikh leadership now to make the best of this tenure. I must warn that this situation can be used in either direction. If Sikh leadership plays its role and cards soberly, a lot, can be achieved. If not, shudder at the consequences.

—Ashok Singh Bhai
Chandigarh

Independence gave us the opportunity



"THIS AGENDA FOR THE NATION has been dovetailed into the overall plan of development. It pinpoints areas of special thrust which will show immediately tangible results for various segments."

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LET EACH ONE PLAY FOR THE TEAM

"This programme is for each one of you, and for this nation which is ours to serve, to cherish and to build. I seek your wholehearted cooperation in making the programme a success."

—Prime Minister
Smt. Indira Gandhi

36th Year of Independence—Year of the 9th Asian Games.

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